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ADDRESS.
TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS
OF THE UNITED STATES.
[CONCLUDED.]

The next objection against the Convention, and one recently urged by the opposition, is that the whole proceeding is purely of a party character; intended alone to preserve the power of party and perpetuate party principles. Hence it is, that we hear the spirit of party so strongly deprecated by the very men who are invoking its aid, for their own ambitious and party purposes. That this spirit, when carried to an extreme, may become injurious, we readily admit. But the man who expects to see free countries exempt, from its influence, must be a very superficial observer of human affairs, and have but a slight acquaintance with the history of free governments. In a country like ours, it is not only the right, but the duty of every citizen to make himself acquainted with the operations of the Government and the conduct of those entrusted with its administration. Every citizen here can aspire to the highest offices in the States; the only passports to which are the favor and confidence of his fellow men acquired by the possession of talents and virtue. In such a state of society, that there should be collisions of sentiment and interests, and political parties, is not only a consequence natural, but irresistible. Nor is the existence of such parties desirous of public utility. They excite a jealousy and vigilance which insures fidelity in public functionaries. They check attempts at the usurpation of power, and thereby preserve the rights of the people. Such has been the effect, not only in our own free government, but in those much less so. In Great Britain has this not especially been the case? There the great and overbearing power of the monarchial and aristocratical branches of the government has been counteracted and kept in check by the boldness, talents and popularity of the leaders of political party; nor is there any thing immoral or improper in men having the same object, co-operating as a party on honest principles, for its attainment. An individual in the political world taking his own course without consulting those of the same principles and opinions with himself, would become insignificant. His isolated exertions might become unavailing. He would be a unit, opposed to a strong phalanx, united by a common interest, and animated by a combined will. The only way that could oppose with success the movements of his political opponents, would be to unite with those having the same views with himself. Nor would this imply a sacrifice of principle or independence on his part. A branch of political morality, the doing an act of injustice; or the trampling on the rights or liberties of a fellow citizen, can never be justified or excused, by regard or complaisance to a party. This is readily admitted. But the concession of subordinate questions; a compromise of views of policy; or of the course to be pursued to attain a certain and laudable object; of the preference of particular individuals to fill certain stations, are not only the dictates of wisdom, but are to be justified by the maxims of the severest and most inflexible morality. Men excited to preserve and maintain the liberties of the country; to oppose any attempt to sacrifice those liberties, and to bury them under the ruins of the Constitution, would not only be inexcusable, but highly criminal, to suffer those great and vital objects to be defeated; because, in the pride of opinion, they would not sacrifice, on a question of mere expediency, a cause which they might not have been the first themselves to suggest. The question which these political casuists ought to put to themselves, should be this: Would it be better that they should endanger the public happiness or the public liberty, than give up some favorite scheme of policy, or yield their assent to an individual's being placed in an office, whose opinions in general coincided with her own, though they might have a preference for another? When parties act on honorable principles, there is no danger from its existence. But this opinion is not meant to extend to the justification of that factious and envenomed spirit by which parties are sometimes influenced. Whenever an individual is ready to sacrifice the honor of the nation, the principles of the Constitution, or the rights of the People, to gratify his own ambition, or satiate his vengeance on political opponents, such a man deserves to be stigmatized as an enemy to his country. The great thing to be attended to in a free country, therefore, is not to pronounce an indiscriminate anathema against all political parties. The People should inquire into the motives by which parties are actuated, and into the tendency of their measures. If a particular

party or set of individuals are united to preserve the public liberty, and to secure the Constitution on a firm basis, these men, by whatever epithets distinguished, deserve the public applause and gratitude. If the tendency of the measures of another be to overturn that Constitution, or subvert the liberties of the People, such men, however imposing the name which they may have assumed, do not merit the public support, but should be firmly resisted by every friend of his country. It would be the duty of the good citizen to unite his efforts to those of one party, while he should avoid any connection with the other. In a society constituted of such parties, and in a country like ours, who would be justified in standing aloof as an unconcerned spectator? Would he not be bound to choose between parties and measures, which might be beneficial or injurious to his country? Under the banners of the first described of those parties, would he not be compelled, by the strongest impulses of duty and patriotism, to enlist. Would he not be in a situation, where, next to the crime of uniting on measures hostile to the public happiness, would be that of remaining neutral. Miserable indeed would be the excuse of those who refrain from affording that aid which they owe to their country, under the pretext that they cannot agree upon any measure of policy, and upon any preference of individuals, with those whose main objects they admit to be similar to their own. Should these political opponents be successful, persons acting with such views would find it difficult either to justify their conduct to their country or their own consciences. They might discover too late that they had sacrificed the best of causes to that pride of opinion, which is not satisfied with success, but with nothing short of attaining it in its own way. These reflections ought, we think, to be seriously weighed by every citizen in a free country. They are not only important to those who are struggling for power, which they mean to wield to promote the public happiness, but to those whom the People having placed in authority, have to contend with an opposition, whose deadly hostility would delight to overthrow them and their principles altogether. Union is even more important to a party who are in power, because on it depends the efficiency of an administration, and the success of the best concerted plans of policy. An opposition does not require so strong a cement to obtain success amongst them; by whatever dissimilarity of motive each individual is actuated, yet if each find fault with something, a unity of effect is produced—not so with those who administer the Government. If they do not unite and harmonize, not only in its general views, but also in the particular measures which are adopted, their movements will be marked by irresolution and imbecility. They will be incapable of resisting the efforts of their opponents, weakened as they will be by the lukewarmness and indifference of their friends. Such must always be the effect of a sort of mutual concession and union on the part of those who profess the same political principles and think alike. When parties act on honorable principles, there is no danger in our country from their existence and influence. Who, then, ought to be ashamed of the appellation of party, when properly conducted, and especially such a party as that which binds together the Democratic Republicans of our Union. Without such a party, Fellow Citizens, evil men and evil principles could never be successfully resisted, nor could the great purposes of free government be accomplished. If parties sometimes produce mischief, (and all admit it,) they ought nevertheless to be still borne. Like the licentiousness of the press, it is an evil so intimately connected with the good to which it is allied, that one cannot be destroyed without inflicting an incurable wound on the other. All these objections, then, to the Convention, and to its proceedings, on party grounds, are intended only for political effect, and will at once be detected and scouted by the People. They ought not, and cannot have weight with the enlightened portion of such a country as ours, and at a crisis like the present.

We come now, fellow citizens, to another objection to the Convention, or rather to one of its nominations, and to another effort at division, of a very different character, and probably one of the most mischievous and wicked that has ever been made against the peace and happiness of any country. It is the attempt to create, sectional parties and divisions, and to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, by charging upon the supposed defects of our complicated political system, the calamities which evil men are endeavoring themselves to bring about. This is a subject of transcendent and universal interest, and one that demands to be well weighed and considered, by all parties, and all men. And here we will take occasion to remark, that is on this weak side of human nature, in appeals to the most degrading and dangerous passions of the human mind, that those who seek to betray nations to their purposes, and kindle the torch of discord, always resort. It is here that ambition as well as fanaticism (always prolific in the allurements and delusions necessary to accomplish their purposes) direct their batteries. It is the point, moreover, in which all free Governments, but our own peculiar system can be most effectually

assailed. Hence, it is, that in different parts of our country we see mischievous and misguided men attempting to weaken the bond of Union, and exciting the North against the South, and the South against the North. The peculiar difference in the social organization of these two sections of our country, is ever a ready and fruitful subject, to create these jealousies and dissensions. It has ever been a fundamental article in the Republican creed that these relations were not by our own Constitutional Charter, brought within the scope of Federal powers, and that Congress has no right to interfere with the domestic relations and local institutions of the United States, with the relations of master and apprentice in Massachusetts, or master and servant in Virginia, as they have, to meddle with similar social relations in Great Britain, France, or Spain. So deeply rooted is this conviction, not only in the minds of our brethren of the northern and middle States, but in the minds of the whole Republican Party of the Union, that it is incorporated in the Democratic creed, and constitutes one of the broad lines of separation between the strict constructionists of the Jeffersonian school and the latitudinarians or consolidationists, under all their Protean colors. Republicanism is the safest guaranty of the stability of our Union. No man, nor set of men, can interfere, or even wish to interfere, with the reserved rights of the States, embracing their domestic institutions and social relations, & call himself a Democratic Republican, or a friend to the Union. Republicanism, or Democracy, in the language of Mr. Jefferson, is "the support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most complete administration for our domestic concerns, and the safest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies, and the preservation of the General Government in all its constitutional vigor; as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and prosperity abroad." Those who would interfere with these reserved and vital rights of the States, cannot be Democrats; and on the other hand those who would weaken the bonds of union, or wish to destroy its constitutional vigor, whatever they may call themselves, cannot be, in truth, Jeffersonian Republicans. The disposition to meddle with the just rights of the States, and especially those of a Democratic character, as well as the opposite disposition to arrest the constitutional and rightful action of the Federal Government, are alike inconsistent with the true spirit of Republicanism and the doctrines of the Republican party. Those who harbor either disposition, whatever may be their motives or professions, are anti-republican in principle, whether called Federal or National Republican, Whig or Tory, Abolitionist or Nullifier. True Republicanism not only guarantees to each State the full enjoyment of its reserved rights, but it guarantees to each State protection from the molestation of other States. When we look, fellow citizens, upon the People of the large and the small States of this vast empire, all dwelling under the Republican system of our fathers in tranquility and security; all under different local and State laws and domestic regulations; all pursuing happiness and prosperity in their own way; having no walls upon their borders, nor armies to defend them from one another; but each all resting securely under the Republican banner of our Union, it would indeed seem as if the days had come, foretold of old, when the lion, and the lamb shall lie down in peace together.

Those, then, who would urge the Government of our Union to trespass upon the rights of the States, or those who would force the States to dissolve the Union, are neither Republican nor the true friends of the States or of the Union. They are not so, because they strike at the foundation and existence of our free institutions and Republican Government itself. They strike on different sides, to be sure, and with very different motives, but the effects are the same. It matters but little whether the harmony of those happy and prosperous States be destroyed by wrongs committed against their reserved rights, or whether it be by creating unjust dissensions to that Union to which they are all indebted, without exception, for their peace and prosperity at home and their respect abroad. Fellow citizens, there have always been two great political parties in our country. Names have changed, but the principle or grounds of difference between the two remain the same. The Republican party have always contended for a strict construction of the Constitution, the preservation of the rights of the States, and the integrity and supremacy of the Government of the Union, when acting strictly within the letter and spirit of the constitutional compact.

The federal party, or consolidationists, on the other hand, claim a literal or latitudinarian construction, and under the pretext of "general welfare" and "expediency," have not scrupled to exercise powers not only of doubtful constitutional character, but in violation of many of the reserved rights of the States. Their principles have often led them not only to push the authority of the General Government to the most unwarrantable lengths, disregarding State rights and public sentiment, (as in the case of the Alien and Sedition Laws,) but to fly to the opposite extreme, and stoutly deny the authority of the General Government, when acting strictly within the line of its constitutional duty, as in the case of the Embargo proceedings during

the late war, and the recent Bank question. The very same class of politicians, who had advocated the authority of the Federal Government to enact Alien and Sedition Laws, established monied monopolies, created exorbitant Tariffs, and taxed the people of one section of the country to make roads and canals in another, denied the right of the same Government to protect the commerce of its citizens by an Embargo, defend the rights and liberties of its gallant seamen by a war, or remove even the public treasure from a soulless corporation, using its power for political and party purposes. All such extremes are alike inconsistent with the principles and doctrines of the Republican party. The consolidationists have twice had the Government in their own hands, and both times their principles have been pushed to dangerous extremes. Names have changed, but the same party with the same principles, leading to the same practices, are now striving for power. It is true and gratifying to believe, that a portion of this party are aiming at power, and in the conviction that their principles, (although twice tried and failed) would be more conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the country, than the principles of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. They, however, know that they are in a minority, and can never hope to gain the ascendancy except by dividing the Republican party. To this point all their energies are and will be directed. It cannot be concealed from you that many of our opponents both in the North and the South, under different names and denominations, are playing into each other's hands by creating geographical parties, kindling sectional animosities, stirring up local jealousies, and arousing all the angry passions. It is in this way that they hope to divide the Republican party. Facts, however, will verify that all such proceedings are instituted by anti-republicans, and those who are opposed to us. This is more especially true, as it regards the Eastern and Northern portions of our country. The Republicans have no lot or part in them, and all those who assume the name and are now found engaged in them, if they ever belonged to the Democratic party, have since been alienated by ambitious or party views or in the midst of party strife have in staked enemies for friends. True Republicans can never lend their aid and influence in creating geographical parties in the East, West, North or South.

They can never engage in such schemes without violating their principles; principles which tell them that they are all brothers, each left a rich inheritance by their fathers, never to be cancelled, while they forbore to meddle with the local feelings and domestic relations of each other. Who then can doubt the virtue, the intelligence, and the patriotism of our brethren of the northern and middle States upon this subject? Have not the abolitionists and fanatics, in broaching their obnoxious plans in public in those quarters of the Union, been in danger even of mobs and violence? Within the last two years while political incendiaries, with the view of creating sectional parties, have been proclaiming to the South that the North were preparing to interfere with her domestic relations; have we not seen the preachers of such doctrines driven from the public assemblies in the North and North-west with mockery and scorn? It was but the other day that the abolitionists were refused permission by an overwhelming vote of the Democratic Legislature of New Hampshire, to hold meetings in either Legislative Hall, on the ground that the objects of the Society were incompatible with those Southern interests secured by the Constitution, with which the American people have nothing to do, and which could never be agitated without danger and alarm. It is the power and influence of United Republicanism and patriotism, which tie the hands of the abolitionists and fanatics in the North, and scorns their doctrines. It is this power of united Republicanism which spell binds their deluded followers, and which they feel and dread. Indeed, so safe and sure a guarantee is Republicanism, for the peaceable possession of all the privileges resulting from the confederacy of States, that while there is a Republican in the North, the South will have a friend there. Let then the Republican party every where, stand firm and united, and trusting to their principles fear not, all will be safe. And why shall not the democracy of all quarters of our Union, and the several States, implicitly confide in each other. They entered into this Confederacy as Independent States, with the express stipulation, that each State reserved to itself the right of managing its domestic concerns, and social relations in its own way. The people of no State, therefore, can violate that compromise, on which this Union is based, and call themselves Republicans. It would be subversive of the fundamental principles on which the superstructure of Republicanism itself is based. They could not, as men of honor and of truth, violate it, without being guilty of deception, treachery, and falsehood. They could not as men of sense and true Christians, violate it, because they know, that by so doing, the light of a great nation now brightly shining on a benighted world, would be extinguished forever, and in blood. They know that the world affords ample fields for the exercise of the most boundless exertions of humanity, char-

ity, and piety. They know that whatever may be the evils existing in any portion of the United States, and however they may be deplored by many in the North and North-west, that there are greater evils in other countries, where humanity, religion, and letters may exert their empire over the human heart. Whenever religion leaves its proper home, the heart, to join in the noise and strife of the affairs of State, it is out of its province, and ever sullies its purity. Whatever movements may be made then in the North or the South, the East or the West, inconsistent with the domestic or social rights secured by the Constitution to respective States of the Confederacy, will emanate from, and be confined to anti-Republicans, and like all other evils, will be most effectually counteracted by the union, integrity, and resistance of the Republican party.

Under such circumstances, how wicked as well as unfounded, are these attempts to excite and inflame the South, and create sectional parties on such a basis. Who can look to such a state of things without dismay and horror? Was it not fellow citizens, against the danger of indulging such feelings, and on the importance of discouraging them, and preserving harmony and union that our revolutionary fathers endeavored so deeply to impress their country? Will you pardon us while we ask you to read and listen to their eloquent and pathetic exhortation?

"But this detestable effort to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, and enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts can never succeed. The people of America have to much good sense, to enter into the perilous and gloomy scenes, into which these advocates of disunion would lead them. They will not hearken to the unnatural voice which tells them, that knit together as they are, by so many cords of affection, they no longer live together, as members of the same great family; can no longer be natural guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow citizens of one great and flourishing empire. They will shut their ears against such unwholesome language. They will shut their hearts against the poison it contains. The kindred blood which flows in their veins; and the mingled blood which they have shed in the defence of their sacred rights, consecrated their union and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies."

This was the admonition of a man of the soundest and most experienced head, and the purest and most patriotic heart. Need we say it was that of James Madison, one of the most distinguished founders of the Constitution. Hence too the solemn warning of Washington, the great Virginian and Saviour of his country, against the dangers of geographical discriminations, and these insidious and daring attempts at disunion and disaffection. In his valedictory and affectionate admonition, at the moment he was retired forever from public life, he too, warned his countrymen.

"Union which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you—it is justly so—it is the main pillar in the edifice of real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; of your peace abroad; of your safety; or your prosperity; and of that very liberty which you so dearly prize. That it is the point of our political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) be directed. Frown therefore, indignantly, brow," he continues, "upon the first dawning of any attempts to alienate one portion of our country from the rest; or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts."

Who can turn a deaf ear to such counsel, and at a time so appropriate as this? Who does not feel and acknowledge the importance of this hallowed spirit speaking, as it were from the tomb, the prophetic and inspired language of truth and patriotism. Why then these attempts to alarm the Southern portion of our country and to assail the proceedings of the Convention on the score of geographical and sectional feeling? Why all this illiberality? Why this continued effort to excite unfriendly feelings between people who have always entertained such sincere respect for each other? Why shall we not regard (in national matters) all the States as one country; and the People which inhabit them as our brethren? Why shall any narrow and sordid, and selfish spirit lead the people of one section to view with envy, or jealousy, the prosperity and happiness of another. Why shall not the South rejoice in the prosperity of their Eastern brethren, in the greatness of Pennsylvania and New York, and in the increasing power and population of these young and flourishing States, upon the waters of the mighty West; and why shall not these, in return, reciprocate the same kind feelings towards the patriotic South? When did the North or the West, ever desert the South? How long and nobly have they not stood by the South, and her distinguished men? Was it not in support of Southern men that the Democracy of the North so often evinced a high degree of liberality? Was General Washington, or Mr. Jefferson, or Mr. Madison, or Mr. Monroe, ever objected to by them, because they were from the South? At the end of General

Jackson's present term, the South will have enjoyed the honors of the Presidency for forty years out of forty-eight, since the adoption of the Convention. As to the remaining eight years, of our political existence under the Constitution, that high office has been in the hands of our political opponents, so that the Northern Democracy have never yet seen a man elevated from their own ranks to that high station. Under these circumstances here they ever murmured, or complained? Never. And why? Because, in the spirit of true patriotism, they have believed that the interests of their country would be better promoted, and their cherished principles best maintained, by their support of Southern men.

And now, after so many years of disinterested conduct, would it not be illiberal and unjust, when they present one of themselves for that high station, whose character and principles are every way unexceptionable, that they should be branded as enemies of the South, and hostile to the peculiar institutions of the Southern people? We are assured that such imputations, so groundless, and so wicked, can make no impression on the southern republicans. They will not be induced by such means to refuse support to a Republican from the North—a man not selected as the democratic candidate because he was a Northern man, but because he was an honest, enlightened, and trustworthy American citizen—a Republican in principle and practice—and because these were the qualities which elected Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. They happened, it is true, to be Southern men, but it was not because they were so that the destinies of this country were confided to their hands. Virginia, that has been honored with the Presidency for more than thirty years, will not be so unreasonable as to deny to the Northern Democracy, who secured to her the possession of that high honor, a boon of equal value. Such a spirit of selfishness and ingratitude does not enter into her proud bosom nor can it be found any where among the chivalry of the South. It dwells only in the hearts of the narrow minded and factious, who have in view the gratification of their own ambition or labor designs of more serious portent, to our beloved country. Under a just administration of the General Government, in all its departments, there is no conflict of interest between the different sections of our country, which can or ought to render their present union incompatible with their local freedom and prosperity. On the contrary the interests embraced under the mantle of our Constitution, are common and prevailing. All parts of the Union are interested in an equal and beneficial operation of the Federal Government. It is the interest of all to have peace, internal and external. It is the interest of all to preserve the freedom of intercourse and commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.

All have an interest in the management of the public revenue; in a common currency; in the inviolability of contracts; and in the establishment of mails. No power is delegated to the General Government, in the just exercise of which, the various States of the confederacy have not a common, if not an equal interest; nor is there one which can be materially abused without injury to all. Even obstructions to trade, and the erection of monopolies are as injurious to the People of the North as of the South, and may ever be overthrown by the diffusion of correct information among the People instead of building up sectional parties, estranging the People of one section from the People of another, and constantly talking of resort to revolution, and violence, to remedy real or imaginary evils; instead of this war against our homes and our hearths, the good man and the patriot will rather strive to diffuse through all sections, just views of our institutions, and national policy, and relief will certainly follow from the operations of the public mind, as certainly as an effect is produced by an adequate cause. Hence it was that Mr. Jefferson, (in his letter to the Ohio Legislature,) justly and forcibly remarks:—"Nothing can so effectually contribute to produce the greatest good to the country, as harmony, and mutual confidence between the General and State authorities, and a conviction that local and general interests, well conducted can never be in opposition." Mr. Madison, too, in a communication to the Connecticut Legislature, remarks:—"The prosperity even of those States (the Eastern) is founded on so clear a reciprocity of interests, and the most important constitutional relations between the General and State authorities; that it may always be expected that revolutionary errors on these subjects will quickly yield to reflection, and voluntary ones being confined to a few, will not long resist the general impulse." That collisions and difficulties under so complicated a system of Government, would sometimes arise; was foreseen and expected; but they can always be conquered by forbearance, moderation and wisdom.

There is perfection, fellow citizens, in nothing which surrounds or protects us. The laws of nature are not adequate to our protection from multiplied inconveniences and aggravated calamities. But should we therefore seek to escape from their authority? Would it be prudent, if we had the power, to seek in the total disorganization of the present natural system, relief from the pains inconveniences, and dangers which we suffer in its operation? There is equally folly in seeking destruction of the social institutions, which practically secure to us a degree of liberty, peace, happiness, and prosperity, unequalled in any other country, because they are sometimes abused. If our people are wise, they will shut their ears to such who, in their mad schemes of ambition and power, would reduce their countrymen to the condition of serfs, who labor only for their lords,

and for the support of armies, placemen and pensioners. And for what purpose is this war against social happiness, and are those attempts at dissatisfaction and disunion? Why these unceasing efforts to excite jealousies, dislikes, and animosities between the people of the Southern and Eastern States? Why are these questions, which have slumbered for half a century, now revived, and these firebrands thrown upon the public mind? Why it is now done? Let the answer be given by the liberal and enlightened of all parties; by every man whose reason is not disordered, and whose heart is not corrupted, and the mischief will be more than half remedied. But we must forbear. We feel that this subject is one of deep and wide spread interest—that it should be approached with solicitude and caution, and touched with a tender hand—that this is not the time or occasion to press it further—nor to arraign the actors in these scenes, nor their motives. We do not intend it; nor shall we attempt to discriminate between the mischievous and the misguided—between those high priests in this crusade of destruction, whose heads are seen like the mountain top above the storm, or their more obscure and deluded followers. Nor is it our purpose to fasten ignominy or reproach upon any individual, public or private. Whatever their motives may be, we leave them to their own consciences and Him who alone can judge them. But it should be recollected that mischievous consequences often result from unintentional errors of conduct and opinion, and "that the most contemptible and unimportant causes often produce the most calamitous consequences."

The time probably may come when the actors in these scenes will be called upon to answer to an injured and offended country. Then the proper discriminations will be made, and the innocent separated from the guilty.—We have, however, one word to offer by way of admonition and caution, to all who are concerned in this attempt to divide our nation against itself, and sow the seeds of jealousy and distrust, and it is—to pause in their work of disunion and ruin. We call upon all—upon the ambitious as well as the deluded, in their zeal of fanaticism and party, to look, if they dare, to the calamities which might rush in and deluge this fair land if their efforts could succeed, and to pause before it be too late—to remember that the progress of disaffection is often insensible and invisible, and that the mighty spirit which they are attempting to excite, if once roused, can neither be allayed by the cannon or the sword, by law or by blood. It is, fellow citizens, against this dangerous spirit of discontent and division, against these unhalloved attempts to weaken the bands of our glorious Confederacy, that it becomes the duty of every wise man, of every honest man, and of every American, to watch with sleepless vigilance. That watch can only be set in deep and abiding affection to our holy Union, upon the preservation of which depends not only our own liberty and happiness, but that of the world. So much we have deemed it our duty to say, in defence of the Convention generally, and in answer to some of the prominent objections which have been made against it and its proceedings. We shall now proceed to discuss that part of the subject more immediately connected with the general principles and measures of the present administration and our national policy.

We have said, fellow citizens, in a previous part of this Address, that the election of a successor to General Jackson ought to be regarded as one of the most important that had ever occurred in our country; that it involved not only the fate of the Republican party and its principles, but the constitution of that wise course of national policy pursued by General Jackson, and upon which his administration has been based. To prove this, will require a brief notice of some of its prominent and leading measures; and those especially which relate to our foreign intercourse, the tariff, internal improvement, and the Bank of the United States. It will be born in mind, that Gen. Jackson came into the Presidential chair at a moment of deep political excitement, and under very peculiar circumstances. The previous Administration had come into power against the desire of a majority of the American people, and its measures had been strongly reprobated and condemned by the great body of the Republican fathers had been forgotten or abandoned. Most of the landmarks to the exercise of unlimited power by the General Government had been disregarded or broken down. The doctrine of expediency and the general warfare had been openly proclaimed and revived, and under its broad wing, power was asserted by its friends to pass laws as unconstitutional in their principles, as they were dangerous in their consequences. It was under such a state of things that the friends to a limited Government became alarmed, and General Jackson was called by the people to say the spirit of innovation, and restore the purity and vigor of our free institutions. He accordingly came forward to devote himself to the service of his country, to promote her happiness and defend her rights.

How faithfully did he fulfil the expectations and wishes of his friends, and accomplish the great object of his election. What were the prominent traits that characterized his Administration both as to its external and internal policy? What its effects and benefits? Will you favor us with a brief review? Towards foreign nations, has it not been distinguished alike with ability, firmness, and moderation? Whilst its primary canon was to do justice to all, and suffer wrong from none, has it not, in the pursuit of a peaceful and liberal policy, studied the interest and regarded the sentiments of every portion of our extended country? Has it not given us peace with every foreign power, secured to us an unrestrained and flourishing and enriching commerce with the civilized nations

of the world. Has it not placed our country abroad upon the most elevated and exalted ground, and caused its name to be respected in every quarter of the globe. So, too, in relation to the internal concerns. Has it not pursued a course equally distinguished by wisdom and moderation, and with like results. Has it not secured to all parts of our country internal prosperity, peace and security. Has not the public debt been extinguished. Have not the great interests of the soil been exempted from unjust systems of taxation, in the shape of Tariffs, and the industry of the whole nation protected and cherished? Indulging no favor or fear, manifesting no preference towards any particular section of our country over another, cherishing no interest separate from the welfare of the whole, has not the Government been administered with a single eye to the benefit and prosperity of all? Has not one of the greatest objects of his civil Magistracy been the protection of the rights of the States, and the integrity of the Union.—Has he not made the Constitution his guide, and brought back the Government to its true fundamental principles? Has he exercised any power not granted? Claimed any of doubtful character? Has he not carried out the great principles which he laid down in the first Messages, and fulfilled his promises to the letter.—Has he not in fact been true to his high trust, and faithful to his country. But, fellow citizens, notwithstanding these wise measures of the Administration, General Jackson, like his great prototype, Mr. Jefferson, was doomed to encounter all the evils and embarrassments of a powerful and talented coalition. From the moment he came into power, there sprang up one of the most determined, persevering, and concentrated oppositions that any country had ever witnessed, and which, in its final progress, became as formidable as it was alarming. For the three first years of the Administration, this opposition failed in its object and efforts, and sunk into a hopeless condition. They have tried all the means which opportunity and their own ingenuity could furnish, to regain their lost power and places, but in vain. Their results have fallen harmless upon the shield of the veni-miserable Patriot. The nice measures of his Administration, and the virtue and ability with which he had discharged his duty, the benefits secured to his country, and the increased prosperity and happiness of the people, defeated their schemes and blasted all their hopes. He was too deeply seated in the affections of the people to be shaken. So far, however, the opposition had fought the battle upon political and party grounds, and by political men; but without success. But when parties in pursuit of their own ambitious views, cannot obtain a favorite object by direct means, they will seek it through all the indirect experiments which the spirit of the times and chance may throw in their way. When fair and generous means will not avail such a party, they will employ every artifice which is calculated to reward ambition and secure success.

It was accordingly towards the termination of General Jackson's first term, when they had sunk into a desperate condition, that a new ray of hope burst upon them. Then it was the Bank of the United States was looked to as the means by which to accomplish their ends, and secure their triumph. It was their last hope, and they instantly embraced it. Although the charter of the Bank was not to expire for four years, their policy was to get an application made for its renewal before the period for the re-election of General Jackson should arrive.—By this means the re-election of the President was to be defeated, and their triumph secured. They regarded him as in a delicate and dangerous dilemma. His numerous friends were grounds of constitutional and expediency—favor of the Bank, and the entire South against it. If the bill for its re-charter should pass both Houses of Congress, (and the majority for it was believed to be certain) the President would necessarily be obliged either to approve or to veto it. If he approved, the Bank would succeed in its object of a re-charter, and his friends in the South—without whose support it was believed he could not be re-elected—would, upon principles, desert him. If he disapproved and vetoed, all eyes would be turned to Pennsylvania and the West; and his friends deserting him there, also, his re-election would be jeopardized if not defeated. This was the master-stroke of policy, and it was consequently adopted. They did not calculate, however, upon the application of the veto power.

Although they knew the previous convictions of General Jackson as to the inexpediency and unconstitutionality of the Bank and its dangerous tendency—although he had expressed his opinions to Congress in the years '29, '30, and '31, and his determination never to sanction it, yet they did not believe he would refuse to sign any bill that might finally pass for its re-charter, and by doing so, hazard his re-election. Accordingly, the Bank came forward in 1831, with an application for a re-charter. A bill for this purpose passed both houses, and received the constitutional veto of the president. That these were the objects which influenced the opposition at that day, none, we think, acquainted with the history of those times, can doubt. Indeed, they were charged at the time, and universally believed. But how little did they know of the individual with whom they were contending.—He met the crisis in a manner worthy of his principles, and vetoed the bill both as unconstitutional and expedient—thus cutting off all hope as to its ever meeting his approbation.

It was then that the Bank took the field openly, and under the banners of a concentrated and powerful opposition, made every effort to defeat the re-election of General Jackson, but without success. The manly and fearless man-

ner in which this duty had been performed, the Rohan firmness and honesty of the President, so far from prejudicing him with the great body of the Democracy of Pennsylvania and the West, served only to endear him to them. It was regarded by them and the great majority of his friends, as one of the most important and glorious acts of his administration, and he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. Of the means resorted to by the Bank to sustain itself, and to influence the Presidential election, we shall forbear here to speak. They have long since been exposed to the nation, and must be familiar to all. But the contest did not stop here. There remained still another and severe struggle, which the President and his administration were doomed to encounter in consequence of the course of which he felt it his duty to pursue in relation to this institution.—Having considered the fate of the Bank as settled by the decision of the People, in his reelection, and that its charter would expire within four years, and seeing in his conduct good reason, as he believed, to justify the measure, the President deemed it his duty, as the head of the Executive Department of the Government, to sanction the removal of the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, and their being placed elsewhere for safe keeping, by the Secretary of the Treasury, whose duty it was to make such removal whenever in his opinion the public interest required it to be done.

Then was revived the bitter and vindictive war upon the President and his friends, and then commenced those scenes of panic and distress without parallel in the history of our country, and which threatened one time its peace and security. But to whom were they justly attributed? To whom, but the opposition, and their great ally, the Bank. Was not the object of these efforts and exertions, on the part of the Bank to disturb and paralyze the ordinary operations of our citizens, and to take from them the means of carrying them on? Did they not endeavor to arrest the whole course of business almost every department of society, and to produce that individual ruin and distress which they had predicted would be the consequence of the measures of the President and his administration.—Who is there now that doubts it? Did not these efforts not only embarrass but expose the Government and country to the most eminent perils? Was not the final issue even considered doubtful, and did not the friends of liberty and free government tremble for the result? From a state of things so pregnant with great evils, and forebodings still greater, was it not the firmness and virtue of the President, and those associated with him, that saved us? And how, fellow citizens, was this war against the Chief Magistrate of your country and his administration conducted? In what way did they not assail him? What charges were not made against him? What offence was not imputed to him.

He was charged with a violation of the Constitution of his country, and a breach of almost all its laws. With having, in violation of these, assumed the purse as well as the sword. With the destruction of the public and private credit. With bringing upon the nation a vitiated currency, and a load of public debt. With the loss of the agricultural products and individual industry of the people. With the decline of our commerce and manufactures, and the destruction of our trade. With having, in fact, disabled, dishonored and oppressed his country. Indeed, not only were the measures of the administration declared to be odious and corrupt, but it was said that a species of tyranny had sprung up which was desolating the land, and threatened even the liberties of the people. The President was denounced in terms as another Tyrant or Caligula, ready to sacrifice his country at the shrine of his unholy ambition. Was not this the gloomy picture which our opponents gave of the venerable Magistrate and his administration? Was he not, moreover, charged with having done this to gratify a vindictive and ruthless spirit against a moneyed institution, and in pursuit of a wild and frantic ambition, and no limits? Let the candid and the liberal of all parties answer. And for what was this load of reproach heaped upon him and his friends? For what but the firmness, independence, and vigor with which they had resisted every attempt to recharter an institution against which the republicans had warred from the moment of its existence, and which Mr. Jefferson, in the evening of his life, declared to be, "one of the most deadly hostilities existing to the principles and form of our Constitution—and which, penetrating by its branches every part of our Union, and acting by command and in phalanx, might, in a critical moment, upset the Government."

Who doubts but that it was because of his uncompromising hostility to his corporation, at a moment when it was waving its dreadful sceptre over the land, and his unshaken constancy in support of the People's cause, that this venerable and noble patriot, and those associated with him, were arraigned and denounced, before their country and the world, in a manner unparalleled in the history of any free Government. Yes, Fellow Citizens, it was for these things that an administration, which had secured to its country liberty, and union, and prosperity at home, and respect and peace abroad, was denounced as the most abandoned and profligate upon the earth. Posterity will look upon the scenes which for the last three years distracted our country, and wonder how any man could have successfully resisted the gigantic power of such an institution, wielded under such circumstances. But what has become of this mass of mischief and ruin, which was to proceed from the conduct of the President towards the Bank? Where is that universal bankruptcy which was to overwhelm the people? Where

the suspension of the channels of their foreign connections. Where the loss of their trade, the annihilation of their manufactures? Where the deluge of debt the ruin and divisions of our people. Where the fields without harvest; the merchants without customers? Where now are all these false prophets with all their dreams of ruin and distress? Have they been fulfilled?

Is it true that we have no free Government to rally around; no country to love? Is our country humbled in the eyes of the world? dishonored and disgraced at home? Is all this true? No. There is not a liberal or candid man who does not and ought to feel proud and exalted, at the spectacle which his country now presents, both at home and abroad. When was it ever more, if indeed so prosperous?—Prices so high? People so happy? When did it ever progress so rapidly in wealth, in arts and useful knowledge, and public spirit, or national character? When so erect among the nations of the earth? Never. Have we not a right to say, that these are the blessings of a President and Republican administration? These are the generous triumphs of Democracy? And what else but the union of the Republican Party, and confidence in the virtue and patriotism of Andrew Jackson, the Chief Magistrate of the people's choice, could have done this.

And when the political and ambitious men of this day, who have assailed and calumniated him shall be mingled in the dust, with the thousands whose examples they have imitated; when no record shall be found of their memories, or any recollections of their services, this Patriot will be the admiration of every American, and the highest example of political virtue. But Fellow Citizens, is this the time, happy and prosperous as we are, for the Democracy of the country to disarm? "The danger is not yet over." These last words of one of our political Patriarchs, soon after the adoption of the Constitution, may justly be regarded as peculiarly applicable at the present moment: although "Peace waves her hand over us, and Heaven is heaping upon us its blessings with a precious hand," do we not see ambition and party busy in every quarter of our land? If the wise and patriotic measures of the Administration have heretofore afforded our political enemies an opportunity for gross impositions, why shall we not expect them to be revived? What shall we have gained, and what will all our struggles avail, if we suffer ourselves to be divided, and in seeking security, "fill the exertions of our opponents' ruses" us from our slumbers and convince us of our mistake.

The Administration has taken ground which the Republicans cannot desert, without a surrender of their principles, and the destruction of themselves. The whole Democracy of the Union has sustained Gen. Jackson and his administration, and now demand that those who are to succeed him should carry out the principles and policy of his Administration. How is this to be done, but by united and harmonious councils and sleepless vigilance?

The Democracy of the country must not rest too secure? The prosperity and safety of our country are essentially involved in the issue of the approaching election. We sincerely believe that upon the preservation of the old Democratic Republican party the prosperity and happiness of our country greatly depended. To you, then, as Republicans, as friends of the Constitution, as supporters of Andrew Jackson and his Administration, and the advocates of union, we make this appeal. We make it not for ourselves alone, but for the Democracy of our country, and we hope not in vain. Fellow citizens, are not our opponents already in the field, prepared to battle with desperation? Have not three candidates already been presented to the nation, whose interests are as different as the interests of travellers in a great caravan? May not others soon be added to the list? Are you ignorant of the attempts that are making to get the friends of some of the opposing candidates to unite and to operate for the purpose of preventing the election of the candidate supported by the Democratic party, or carrying the election to the House of Representatives? Are they not active and indefatigable in their exertions? Will a single vote be withheld, do you imagine, upon their side? Is there not something too, beyond the mere desire to defeat the Republican candidate, wished and expected. Does not the Bank still exist, and consider the question of its recharter as one open and undecided? Who doubts that the contest is again in some shape to be revived? Is it not looked to as one of the strong holds of our political opponents, which they will never consent to abandon? Does not the Bank itself as undecided, although not openly in "battle array, with banners up?" Are not the sappers at work throughout the land? Why else, to propose extending its loans?—Can we forget that its managers justified their charter had but a short time to run, and prudence required them to draw in by degrees, their outstanding debts? Hence, in her application to Congress, in 1831, they say, "unless the question is decided by the present Congress, no definitive action upon it can be expected until within two years of the expiration of the Charter a period before which, in the opinion of your memorialists, it is highly expedient, not merely in reference to the institution itself, but to the more important interests of the nation, that the determination of Congress should be known." Again, they say—"If the wisdom of Congress shall determine that the Bank must cease to exist, it is still more important that the country should begin early to prepare for the expected change, and that the institution should have as much time as possible to execute the

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and it was to accomplish these desirable
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 country the names of MARTIN VAN BU-
 RGH of New York, and RICHARD M.
 JOHNSON of Kentucky, two of her distin-
 guished and patriotic fellow citizens, for the of-
 fices of President and Vice President of the
 United States. We shall offer you no adula-
 tion of their characters, talents, or services,—
 they have both been long known to the coun-
 try, and distinguished upon the theatre of pub-
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 advance, their political principles, and the
 course which will govern them, should they be
 elected by their country to preside over its de-
 sires. It rests with that country to decide,
 on the good sense of the People we confidently
 submit the decision; satisfied that whenever
 they shall be called to choose the sentinels who
 are to guard her rights and liberties, they will
 choose with propriety. We only ask them to
 be united and vigilant.

Printed Votes for the Democratic Candidates to be had at this Office.

Apprentice Wanted.

WANTED, immediately, as an Apprentice to the TANTON BRASSERY, a Boy from 14 to 16 years of age, of good steady habits, whom good encouragement will be given. Enquire of

JOSEPH D. SHAWKLEY,
Norway-Village, Sept. 1, 1855. 113

CAUTION.

THE public are hereby cautioned against purchasing two notes of hand, given by Elias M. Carter, and Jediah T. Kimball to James C. Orange, dated Bethel, August 20, 1835, one for one hundred and dollars payable on demand after one year from date with interest, and the other for two hundred and fifty-five dollars payable in one year from date with interest. Also, one eleven dollar note given by Orange C. Frost, and John T. Hibbard to Joseph Kimball, August 18th, 1835, for one hundred and fifty dollars, payable on demand after thirty days from date with interest; as the signers of said notes received no consideration therefor.

**ELLAS M. CARTER,
JEDIAH T. KIMBALL,
ORANGE C. FROST,
JOHN A. HIBBARD,**

part. We must therefore be active and exert ourselves. Let intelligent men, tried and faithful democrats be selected for our representatives; let us have no traitors, deserters, and all those who are with us merely because we are in power. Select men who are democratic in principle, and such may be depended on under all circumstances. "Patience will make them the tools of our opponents, nor disappointment drive them into the ranks of the opposition."

C AUTION.

W^HO, the subscribers, hereby forbid all persons purchasing the following Notes ofiland given by us to JAMES C. BEAN, or to any person in his name or as CRUCKER BEAN,—one Note given for the sum of five hundred dollars, payable on demand with interest,—one for the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars, payable in sixty or ninety days with interest,—one for the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars payable on demand with interest,—one for the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars payable on demand with interest.—We do hereby certify that the said James C. Bean, or Eliphaz Hutchins, Jr., as we are determined never to pay any notes, for the same are without any consideration, having been obtained from us by the said Bean, by the practice of gross fraud.

ELIPHAZ C. BEAN,
PORTER KIMBALL,
JOHN H. TYLER,
JUNIOR STANTON,
JAMES C. THOMPSON,

JOHN S. STONE,
late of Jay, in the county of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests that all persons who are indebted to said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to

ASPAVILL R. STONE,
3
Jay, August 25, 1835.

THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Executor of the last will and testament of

AMERICA HAMLIN, Jr.
late of Waterford, in the county of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests that all persons who are indebted to said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon to exhibit the same to

OLIVER STONE,
Waterford August 25, 1835.

THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Executor of the last Will and testament of

JOHN H. FRYE,
late of Fryeburg, in the county of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests that all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to

BENJAMIN FRYE, D.

late of Andover North Spur, in the county of Oxford
yeoman, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—H
therefore request persons who are indebted to the said
deceased estate to make immediate payment; and those
who have any demands thereon to send the same to
SAMUEL T. POOL
Andover, June 23, 1835. 3w1

Advertisement.
THIS day committed to me, the subscriber, Pound
Keeper of the town of Buckfield, by Sydenham
Bridgman of said Buckfield, a Stray Horse, taken in the
streets of said town, of a bay color, with a white
or, white mane and tail. This owner is hereby notified
to pay what is legally and justly demanded and take the
said horse, Aug. 14, 1835, SYDNEY SPOLDING.
Aug. 14, 1835. 3w2

Stray Colt.
CAME into the enclosure of the subscriber, about the
10th inst, a snoking mare colt of dark red color in her
first state of teething, and a small white stripe in her
face The owner is requested to prove property, pay
charges, and take her away
Paris, August 21, 1835. ORISON RIPLEY.
3w2

Pelts!! Pelts!! Pelts!!
CASH and the highest prices will be paid for LAMBS
Pelts, by HUBBARD & HOWE.

This is a high-contrast, black and white image, likely a scan of a physical document. It features a vertical strip of material, possibly a book binding or a piece of paper. The central area is dark and heavily textured, appearing almost black with some lighter speckles. The edges are lighter, showing a rough, worn, or damaged texture. The overall appearance is grainy and high-contrast, with no discernible text or figures.

may be made of any lots vacant at the time the right is claimed, according to the dates of the certificates.

JOHN HODGDON, Land Agent.

Witcal-B. K. GOODENOW, Clerk.

No. 5. 7

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